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STOCKHOLM ALSO FOR USDEL/CDE

E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: PREL, PARM, CSCE, CDE  
SUBJECT: MARCH 25 HELSINKI COMMISSION HEARING: SENATOR  
WALLOP'S STATEMENT

1. STATEMENT BY SENATOR MALCOLM WALLOP, HELSINKI  
COMMISSIONER, FOR THE HELSINKI COMMISSION HEARING ON THE  
STOCKHOLM SECURITY CONFERENCE AND THE CSCE PROCESS, MARCH  
25, 1986.

SENATOR D'AMATO, CONGRESSMAN HOYER, FELLOW COMMISSIONERS,  
DISTINGUISHED WITNESSES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

WE MEET HERE TODAY TO REVIEW THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE ON  
CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES AND DISARMAMENT  
IN EUROPE AND THE CSCE PROCESS AS A WHOLE. I ESPECIALLY  
WELCOME THIS HEARING BECAUSE I HAVE LONG THOUGHT THAT WE  
NEEDED A HELSINKI COMMISSION REVIEW OF PROGRESS IN ALL OF  
THE BASKETS OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. IN OUR DEEP AND  
PROPER CONCERNS OVER HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND  
EAST-BLOC, WE HERE IN THE HELSINKI COMMISSION TEND TO  
FORGET THAT THE HELSINKI ACCORDS FOCUSED ON A WIDE RANGE OF  
EAST-WEST ISSUES, INCLUDING SECURITY, ARMS CONTROL, TRADE  
AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS, CULTURAL AND BUSINESS EXCHANGES AND  
EXCHANGES IN SCIENTIFIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL MATTERS.

I THINK, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT WE MUST NEVER OVERLOOK THE FACT  
THAT ALL EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS ARE LINKED AND THAT OUR  
CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN THE HELSINKI CSCE PROCESS HAS  
CONTINGENCIES. IT IS LINKED TO PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL.  
IT IS LINKED TO PROGRESS IN REDUCING CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN  
CENTRAL EUROPE. THESE LINKAGES HAVE ENABLED US TO BRING  
PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE SOVIET UNION IN THE CSCE PROCESS,  
BUT HAVE WE SUCCEEDED IN DOING SO?

MR. CHAIRMAN, MANY CYNICS HAVE IMPLIED THAT THE STOCKHOLM  
CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE IS A FARCE. OTHERS  
HAVE SAID THAT ON THE U.S. SIDE, IT IS A STEP-CHILD OF THE  
ARMS CONTROLLERS, WHO HAVE FOCUSED ENTIRELY ON THE GENEVA  
NEGOTIATIONS. WE KNOW THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS UTILIZED  
THE CSCE PROCESS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY.

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HAVE WE DONE SO TO AN ADEQUATE DEGREE?

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WARSAW PACT STATES ARE USING THE STOCKHOLM CDE CONFERENCE AS A PLATFORM FOR A VARIETY OF DANGEROUS AND DECEPTIVE ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS, SUCH AS NO-FIRST USE COMMITMENTS, ONE-SIDED MILITARY SPENDING FREEZE PROPOSALS, ONE-SIDED CHEMICAL WEAPONS BAN PROPOSALS, PROPOSALS FOR NUCLEAR-WEAPONS FREE ZONES IN EUROPE AND ONE-SIDED IDEAS FOR CEILINGS ON MILITARY EXERCISES. FOR THIS REASON, WE MUST PAY VERY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE. WE MUST NOT LET THE SOVIET UNION CONTROL THE BALL THERE. WE MUST LINK OUR PARTICIPATION IN EACH AND EVERY SESSION TO THEIR BEHAVIOR IN LIVING UP TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. WE MUST SYSTEMATICALLY POINT TO THEIR REPEATED VIOLATIONS OF THAT FINAL ACT ACROSS THE SPECTRUM OF ITS PROVISIONS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I THINK WE NEED TO REMEMBER THAT IT WAS THE SOVIET UNION WHICH BEGAN THE CSCE PROCESS. THE SOVIET UNION LOBBIED LONG AND HARD TO GET THE WESTERN NATIONS TO AGREE TO SIT DOWN WITH THEM TO DISCUSS THE SECURITY OF EUROPE. THEIR AIM WAS TO GET A HANDLE ON WESTERN EUROPE AND TO TRY TO LEGITIMIZE THEIR HAMMER-LOCK ON EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALTIC COUNTRIES WHICH THEY INCORPORATED INTO THEIR EMPIRE AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II. BREZHNEV ALSO HOPED, AS WARREN ZIMMERMANN POINTED OUT TO ME LAST FALL, TO PUT AN UMBRELLA OVER ALL EAST-WEST CONTACTS TO CONTROL THEM. THE SOVIETS WANTED TO USE HELSINKI TO OBTAIN ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL EXCHANGE AND INFORMATION FROM THE WEST. I THINK, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT WE NEED TO ASK WHETHER THIS WHOLE PROCESS, AFTER TEN YEARS, HAS WORKED MORE TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST-BLOC OR MORE TO OURS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE UNITED STATES ORIGINALLY AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CSCE PROCESS AS A TRADE-OFF FOR THREE IMPORTANT EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS - THE FOUR POWER AGREEMENT ON BERLIN, THE MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION TALKS TO LIMIT CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE, AND THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS OF TEN YEARS AGO. OUR GOAL WAS TO LINK PROGRESS IN THESE AREAS TO OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE HELSINKI MEETING WHICH EVENTUALLY LED TO THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AS LONG AS DR. ANDREI SAKHAROV REMAINS IMPRISONED BY THE KGB AT GORKY, THE SOVIET UNION STANDS IN VIOLATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT FOR ALL THE WORLD TO SEE. AS LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION FAILS TO GRANT DR. SAKHAROV FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND FREEDOM TO ENGAGE IN SCIENCE, THE SOVIET UNION IS IN BLATANT VIOLATION OF SEVERAL PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT OF HELSINKI. AS LONG AS DR. SAKHAROV AND OTHERS SUCH AS ORLOV CANNOT TRAVEL, OR SPEAK OR PUBLISH OR PURSUE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, THE CSCE PROCESS HAS FAILED. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK THE DISTINGUISHED WITNESSES HERE TODAY WHAT THEY THINK ABOUT THAT FAILURE AND WHAT THEY THINK THE UNITED STATES CAN DO AT STOCKHOLM AND BERN AND ELSEWHERE TO PRESS FOR THE RELEASE TO MOSCOW OF DR. ANDREI SAKHAROV?

MR. CHAIRMAN, I ALSO WOULD LIKE TO ASK UNDER SECRETARY ARMACOST AND AMBASSADOR BARRY TO OUTLINE FOR US HOW THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE PROMOTES UNITED STATES INTERESTS AND HOW IT FITS INTO THE ENTIRE HELSINKI PROCESS. IS THAT CONFERENCE MERELY A PLATFORM FOR SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN PROPAGANDIZING, OR DO THEY TREAT IT WITH THE SOLEMNITY IT DESERVES? IS THERE ANYTHING WE HELSINKI COMMISSIONERS CAN DO TO SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF OUR DELEGATION SO THAT IT WILL NOT BE TREATED AS SOME SORT OF STEP-CHILD OF THE ARMS CONTROLLERS?

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MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO ASK MR. ARMACOST TO GIVE US HIS VIEW OF HOW WE CAN BETTER USE THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE TO FURTHER U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INTEREST, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE REPEATED SOVIET AND WARSAW PACT VIOLATIONS OF THE ARMS CONTROL AND CONFIDENCE-BUILDING PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK BOTH MR. ARMACOST AND MR. BARRY TO TELL US HONESTLY WHETHER THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CONTINUE TO PARTICIPAE IN THE CONFERENCE AND IF SO, WHY?

MR. CHAIRMAN, I WANT TO JOIN MY COLLEAGUES ON THE HELSINKI COMMISSION IN WELCOMING THE DISTINGUISHED WITNESSES HERE

THIS MORNING. I LOOK FORWARD TO THEIR TESTIMONY. THANK YOU. WHITEHEAD  
END OF MESSAGE

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